

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 SAM-01 SAJ-01 /083 W  
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R 071006Z OCT 76

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2806

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMCONGEN HONG KONG

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

USLO PEKING

CINCPAC HONOLULU HAWAII

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 15089

CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, JA

SUBJ: FONMIN KOSAKA DIET REMARKS ON HEGEMONY

SUMMARY: IN TESTIMONY BEFORE THE DIET OCTOBER 6, FONMIN KOSAKA APPEARED TO DISASSOCIATE HIMSELF FROM HIS PREDECESSOR'S FOUR POINT INTERPRETATION OF HEGEMONY CLAUSE IN PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY NEGOTIATIONS (PFT) WITH PEKING, AND TO DEVELOP THREE NEW POINTS OF HIS OWN. WHILE THERE IS SOME JSUTIFICATION FOR WIDE-SPREAD PRESS SPECULATION THAT KOSAKA TRYING TO PUT SOME DISTANCE BETWEEN HIMSELF AND FORMER FONMIN MIYAZAWA, FONOFF DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT KOSAKA HAS MOVED VERY FAR OR DONE MUCH DAMAGE. PRESSURE FROM PRO-TAIWAN ELEMENTS IN THE LDP MAY REQUIRE THAT HE READJUST HIS VIEWS SOON. FONOFF DOES NOT EXPECT EITHER PRC OR JAPAN TO MAKE DRAMATIC MOVES TOWARD ONE ANOTHER IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE. KOSAKA AND HIS PROFESSIONAL COLLEAGUES AIMING TO IMPROVE ATMOSPHERE OF SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONSHIP AND TO ESTABLISH KOSAKA AS FRIENDLY AND ACCEPTABLE PARTNER IN NEGOTIATIONS THEY FORESEE  
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BEGINNING IN EARNEST AFTER ELECTIONS. END SUMMARY.

1. APPEARING BEFORE LOWER HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE OCTOBER 6, FONMIN KOSAKA ASKED HOW HE WILL HANDLE PFT NEGOTIATIONS WITH CHINESE. ACCORDING TO FONOFF CHINA DIVDIR FUJITA, KOSAKA REPLIED THAT HE WAS WELL AWARE OF PAST PROCESS OF NEGOTIATIONS, AND WOULD HANDLE FURTHER TALKS ON BASIS OF THAT PROCESS. THIS REPLY, FUJITA SAID, WAS IN ACCORDANCE WITH GUIDANCE PREPARED BY FONOFF AND WAS INTENDED TO MEAN THAT KOSAKA WOULD FOLLOW FORMER FONMIN MIYAZAWA'S FOUR POINT INTERPRETATION OF HEGEMONY CLAUSE IN TREATY NEGOTIATIONS. (MIYAZAWA'S "FOUR POINTS" STIPULATE THAT INCLUSION OF CLAUSE OPPOSING HEGEMONY CLAUSE IN PFT MUST BE INTERPRETED AS: (1) A GENERALLY ACCEPTED PEACEFUL PRINCIPLE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, (2) IN ACCORDANCE WITH UN CHARTER, (3) DIRECTED AT NO THIRD COUNTRY AND (4) BEARING NO LEGAL COMMITMENTS OR FUTURE OBLIGATIONS ON THE PART OF JAPAN). PRODDED PERSISTENTLY BY OPPOSITION PARTY MEMBERS TO GIVE HIS SPECIFIC VIEWS ON MIYAZAWA'S FOUR POINTS, KOSAKA ANSWERED THAT HE DID NOT WISH TO SPEAK DISPARAGINGLY ON THIS SUBJECT BECAUSE HE RESPECTED MIYAZAWA AND REALIZED THAT TOPIC HAD CAUSED HIM TROUBLE AND ANXIETY. KOSAKA ANSWER FUJITA CONTINUED HAD BEEN WIDELY INTERPRETED IN PRESS AS POLITE EFFORT TO DISASSOCIATE HIMSELF FROM FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER ON ISSUE THAT HAS BECOME STICKING POINT IN PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY NEGOTIATIONS.

2. PRESSURED TO PROVIDE HIS OWN INTERPRETATION OF WHAT HEGEMONY CLAUSE MIGHT MEAN, KOSAKA RESPONDED ALONG LINES LAID DOWN IN ARTICLE HE WROTE LAST OCTOBER IN LDP ORGAN "JIYU SHINPO". HE TOLD COMMITTEE THAT CHINESE OPPOSITION TO HEGEMONISM (A) NOT DIRECTED AT JAPAN'S ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES ABROAD, NOR (B) AT THE JAPAN-US SECURITY TREATY. IN ADDITION, (C) PFT NOT INTENDED TO BE EITHER OFFENSIVE OR DEFENSIVE ALLIANCE BETWEEN CHINA AND JAPAN.

3. FUJITA COMMENTED THAT KOSAKA HAD APPEARED AT PRESS BACKGROUNDER FOR ONE HOUR AFTER HIS DIET INTERPELLATIONS. APPARENTLY EXHAUSTED BY A COMBINATION OF JET-LAG AND THE DIET SESSION ITSELF, HE LET HIS ANSWERS TO REPORTERS' QUESTIONS BUTTRESS THEIR IMPRESSION THAT HE WAS TRYING TO PUT SOME DISTANCE BETWEEN HIMSELF AND HIS PREDECESSOR AND TO DEFINE SOME NEW PRINCIPLES OF HIS OWN. PRO TAIWAN ELEMENTS IN LDP HAVE ALREADY REACTED, FUJITA CONTINUED, BY PHONING FONOFF TO SET UP APPOINTMENT FOR KOSAKA TO MEET WITH CONFIDENTIAL

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JAPAN-ROC PARLIAMENTARY GROUP NEXT WEEK. FUMITA SUSPECTED THAT KOSAKA WOULD BE REQUIRED TO "READJUST" HIS VIEWS AT THAT MEETING.

4. FUJITA FELT THAT LITTLE DAMAGE DONE BY KOSAKA REMARKS. PEKING WOULD PROBABLY BE ANNOYED THAT KOSAKA HAD ADDED ANY QUALIFICATIONS OF HIS OWN TO HEGEMONY ISSUE, ALTHOUGH HIS VIEWS HAD LONG BEEN KNOWN. HOWEVER, FOR THE TIME BEING, HE CONTINUED, NEITHER CHINESE NOR JAPANESE PREPARED TO MAKE ANY CONCRETE MOVES TOWARD EACH

OTHER. MAIN THING WAS TO IMPROVE ATMOSPHERE AND ESTABLISH KOSAKA AS FRIENDLY AND ACCEPTABLE PARTNER FOR NEGOTIATIONS WHICH WOULD PROBABLY BEGIN AFTER THE ELECTIONS THIS FALL. KOSAKA FELT HE HAD ACCOMPLISHED THESE LIMITED GOALS AND WAS HAPPY WITH BOTH THE OUTCOME OF HIS CONVERSATION WITH FONMIN CHIAO AND THE PRESS COVERAGE IT HAD RECEIVED.

5. COMMENT: FUJITA'S ASSESSMENT OF THE STATE OF PLAY BETWEEN BOTH THE CHINESE AND THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENTS SEEM QUITE CLOSE TO THE MARK. WHILE MIYAZAWA'S REMOVAL AND KOSAKA'S ARRIVAL HAVE IMPROVED THE ATMOSPHERE BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS, HUA KUO-FENG'S REMARKS TO FORMER DEFENSE SECRETARY SCHLESINGER (TOKYO 14744) SUGGEST THAT CHINESE CONTEMPT FOR MIKI STILL STRONG, EVEN THOUGH HE HAS PICKED MORE ACCEPTABLE FOREIGN MINISTER. CHINESE PROBABLY WOULD, IN ANY CASE, RATHER WAIT UNTIL AFTER THE ELECTIONS TO SEE IF THEY WILL STILL HAVE HIM AND KOSAKA TO DEAL WITH. JUDGING FROM THE SPEED WITH WHICH THE PRO-ROC ELEMENT OF THE LDP HAVE REACTED, DOMESTIC POLITICS WILL REMAIN THE MOST POTENT OBSTACLE TO FAST MOVEMENT OF JAPAN'S PART. FONMIN MIYAZAWA DEVELOPED HIS FOUR POINTS PRECISELY TO MAKE INCLUSION OF THE HEGEMONY CLAUSE IN A PFT PALATABLE TO BODY POLITIC HERE. THE POINTS WILL NOT BE EASY TO ABANDON.  
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## Message Attributes

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